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# the united states and africa:

A STATEMENT OF POLICY ■ WESTERN REGIONAL  
ASSEMBLY ■ LAKE ARROWHEAD, CALIFORNIA

# the united states and africa

*The Western Regional Assembly, cosponsored by the University of California, Los Angeles and the American Assembly, met at Lake Arrowhead on October 9-12, 1958 to consider problems arising with respect to the relations between the United States and Africa.*

*The statement that follows was drafted on the basis of the discussion held, and reviewed by the participants in the Assembly, whose names appear on the back cover. Although there was general agreement on this final report, it is not the practice at these Assemblies for members to affix their signatures, and it should not be assumed that every participant necessarily subscribes to every recommendation included in the statement.*

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*The American Assembly is a program of conferences which bring together business, labor, farm groups, the professions, political parties, government and the academic community. These meetings develop recommendations on issues of national concern. The American Assembly is a non-partisan public service designed to throw light on problems confronting citizens of the United States.*

*The Assembly was established in 1950 by Dwight D. Eisenhower, as President of Columbia University.*

The United States has a legitimate interest in the character of the present and future Africa, even though it has no colonial ties and only limited economic involvement. Our interest derives not only from our concern with the world community and from our relation with European nations which are involved in Africa, but also from our commitment to broad democratic ideals and our historic leadership in promoting the principle of self-determination.

#### *The Character of Future Africa*

We view with enthusiasm the growth of participation by all the peoples of Africa in their political development. Without discounting the many problems and dangers that face the African peoples of all races during the period of transition, we support orderly progress toward self-determination.

African communities should be free to develop their institutions and modes of life in accordance with the spirit of their own cultural traditions and the current needs and desires of their own peoples. Political development cannot be the same in all African countries nor can the end product be identical, but we hope that certain general features will be found in all. Political systems in African states should be geared to orderly change and continued growth and adaptation which minimize the dangers of disruptive political explosion. A government must be able to protect itself from threats to the continuity and stability requisite to economic progress and the establishment of modern statehood; at the same time, political systems should safeguard the political rights and the dignity of the individual. Institutions of government need follow no established pattern, but should provide for broad participation in the determination of public policy and in the selection of leaders, and should assure the right to public dissent.

We feel that change from tribal societies to modern statehood is

endangered by tendencies toward fragmentation into non-viable units. A viable political system requires a healthy economy. There must be opportunity for African people to enjoy higher levels of living and material progress, to develop their natural and human resources and skills in the arts and sciences, so as to enable them to increase their control of the natural environment. The productivity of these economies should be increased as rapidly as possible. The primary objective of economic advancement should be to raise the level of living of all members of society, and the economy should be organized in such a fashion as to provide equal opportunity for everyone.

Adequate and balanced food supply will improve the health and assist in raising the standard of living of the various African peoples. These ends can be accomplished through: improved techniques and conditions of livestock production, selection of crops which will provide better balanced diets, improved farming methods, and improved systems of transportation (including roads) which will enable a more beneficial distribution of products within Africa.

Race, ancestry, or religion should not be barriers to education, employment, or to full participation in common government. Equality of opportunity, where it does not already exist, is a desirable objective for all societies in Africa; the ultimate goal should be a society where race is politically irrelevant.

#### American Action

The United States can and should offer its knowledge, skills, resources, and political experience to Africa without seeking to impose them. There are many channels through which this can be done, and private means are as important as governmental. Major assistance can be offered in at least two broad areas: education and economic growth.

Education is a vital means by which America may substantially assist in the development of Africa. Furtherance of education on the college level is important, and the number of scholarships for Africans to American institutions of higher learning should be increased. Equally important, but often neglected, are training in administrative, managerial and organizational skills, and forms of vocational training, such as apprenticeship programs, technical schools, in-service training in American and African industries, and schools for trade union training.

Opportunities for such training in Africa itself should be promoted wherever possible. A most important contribution is American encouragement for broadening the general educational base for adults, as well

as for children through the elementary and secondary levels. Emphasis should be placed upon programs of fundamental education necessary to the realization of African aims.

The United States Government, particularly through the Department of State's Student, Leader, and Specialist Exchange Programs, and through the many programs of the International Cooperation Administration and the United States Information Service, should continue to play an important role in furthering African education and mutual understanding. In addition, American philanthropic and scholarly foundations and private organizations have a significant role to play and their efforts to expand similar activities should be encouraged. In this connection the effectiveness of the International Cooperation Administration and the United States Information Service would be enhanced by assuring their permanence, placing their personnel on a career basis, increasing their funds, and permitting long-term budgetary planning.

To the end that American investors may fruitfully cooperate with African governments in economic development, a favorable climate for private investment should be promoted by: (a) Governmental agreements to avoid double taxation and to guarantee against expropriation and other arbitrary measures, (b) increased information concerning investment opportunities and (c) where feasible, prosecuting appropriate commercial treaties.

African private enterprise both small and large should be encouraged. One way in which this can be accomplished is by fostering Development Loan Banks within the various countries to supply credit from capital provided by the United States Government or by international agencies.

Economic growth should be fostered through technical assistance and financial aid, including loans and direct investments. Financial assistance should be given to small scale projects which will help the domestic farmer and entrepreneur as well as to large scale projects, such as dams. American financial aid should primarily support economically justifiable undertakings; there are circumstances, however, in which the noneconomic benefits are so great as to justify financially unattractive projects.

Investments should be both private and public, depending upon local circumstances and the varied attitudes of African governments. The United States should take cognizance of certain fears of African leaders as to the political implications of economic aid. In consideration

of such fears, capital may be effectively provided through multi-lateral as well as bi-lateral agreements and through regional and international organizations.

#### *Afro-American Relations in World Perspective*

The great-power struggle cannot be ignored as a factor in American national policy, but the United States should recognize that African states may desire to pursue policies of non-alignment. It is firmly agreed that American actions which promote the economic, social and moral interests of Africa will ultimately serve America's best interests. We respect the right of African states to determine their own foreign policies, and we should not regard their adoption of our policies a condition of our friendship and support.

#### *Africa and the American Domestic Scene*

America is in a position to realize the difficulties of achieving the kind of world we want, particularly with respect to the relations between different races. The earnestness of our efforts to remove racial discrimination in the United States should stand as sufficient proof of our devotion to the ideal of a non-racial society. We deplore such discriminatory practices as remain, but believe that these should not inhibit American action on the international scene in promoting racial equality. We welcome the increased pressure for removal of racial barriers in the United States that results from the emergence of African states.

While the United States should respect the principle of domestic jurisdiction, it should strongly support policies directed toward elimination of racial discrimination in all situations of an international character such as those involving territories under international supervision and disputes between separate political entities. America should use its influence in government-to-government relations, in consultation with metropolitan powers, and in the councils of the United Nations to foster progress toward non-racial societies. It should also continue to support the stand that some American corporations in Africa have taken against racial discrimination.

America has a positive interest in the development of African economies. The economic prosperity of African countries is desired as an end in itself; an expanding African economy will provide greater markets for American products. Domestic policies giving rise to such actions as the establishing of import quotas and tariffs and the dump-

ing of agricultural products on the world market can lead to disastrous consequences for the economies of African states. While these consequences cannot be the sole basis for the determination of domestic policies, they should receive careful consideration in the formulation of American domestic policy.

We welcome the creation of the office of Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs and we hope that this will be followed by a similar development of branches in other agencies of government specifically charged with African responsibilities.

The implementation of the policies we have recommended requires an informed public. We must introduce more materials concerning Africa in our secondary schools and colleges and in adult education programs. Such information requires increased attention by scholars in all fields of research. Education of the public is essential. The American people must acquire a clearer understanding and conception of Africa through education in the broadest possible sense.

Excerpts from the Speech of  
THE HONORABLE JOSEPH C. SATTERTHWAITE, ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE  
FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS, before the Regional Assembly

#### On African Nationalism

As has been said again and again, the urge to create a national entity and to exercise the prerogatives of self-government is clearly the major political, social and economic force at work in most of Africa today. This great drive—this dynamic force of nationalism—is weaving profound changes in the pattern of African society, and is of direct and fundamental importance first to Europe, and, of course, to the United States, and Americas and Asia.

Responsible and articulate Africans today seek equality, dignity and justice for themselves and their fellow countrymen. They seek to bridge as rapidly as possible the great gulf between conditions on their continent and in the Western World. They are clearly determined to eliminate oldfashioned colonialism and racial discrimination from the African continent. They seek to play an important and expanding role in world affairs—to project the new “African personality” on the world scene. As indicated by the various All-African conferences, they seek to gain their objectives by achieving a greater unity of purpose among their diverse and disparate peoples.

Having long recognized that traditional colonialism is coming to an end, the United States supports the principle of orderly transition to self-government and eventual self-determination in the interests of all parties and peoples involved. The speed of this evolution, we believe, should be determined by the capacity of the African populations concerned to assume and discharge the responsibilities of self-government.

The United States supports European measures designed to provide self-government and eventual autonomy to dependent African territories. Insofar as we are able to do so, we also encourage moderate African leaders who recognize the benefits to their own people of evolutionary rather than revolutionary progress. In this connection the United States believes that all concerned should consider seriously the dangerous pitfalls that confront a newly independent state today. Economic viability, established and stable political, social and cultural institutions, trained cadres of civil servants and at least a modicum of experienced technicians are generally regarded as essential to a modern nation.

#### On Racial Problems

Although we cannot ignore the many dangers inherent in any failure to meet the problem of harmonious relationships between the several races inhabiting Africa's dependent and independent territories, we must recognize that at the present time—in view of our own domestic problems—we must in humility avoid proposing specific solutions. We can and must, however, continue to stand steadfastly for the universal principle of non-discrimination and racial equality.

Insofar as we are able to solve this knotty problem of harmonious race relationships within our own borders we will be in a better moral position to exercise greater influence for moderate solutions of racial problems in Africa and elsewhere in the world.

#### On Communism

Although the current Soviet economic, cultural and diplomatic offensive has not shown important results in Africa, no one can afford to be complacent. Persistent and ingenious Communists, skilled in subversive and revolutionary tactics, must be reckoned with. Success in meeting the Communist challenge in Africa will directly depend on success in helping Africans realize their legitimate political and economic aspirations in a progressive manner.



#### On Economic Development

Africa's economic and social needs, closely related to her political and racial problems, are numerous and pressing. Among them are the need for more public and private capital for investment and development; for more technical, executive and organizational skills and abilities; for more transportation and communication facilities, and for diversification of one crop economies.

Constituting a major challenge to our wisdom, good will and generosity, these economic problems require prompt remedial action. They are so numerous that no one nation can possibly solve them alone. Africa must have and deserves the cooperative support of all nations of the free world in this endeavor. Much is already being done.

#### On Social Progress

Side by side with economic development, of course, must come social progress. Both the United Nations and the countries of the free world must contribute to Africa's social advancement. For the advancement of African agriculture and its progress in industrialization must take into account available human resources and the social patterns within which economic development takes place. This is particularly true since social patterns in Africa range from primitive tribal organizations to highly developed urban societies.

#### Summary

Recognizing the vital interdependence of Africa and Europe, we must support constructive African political evolution and work for mutual understanding of our own policies and support for our common ideals as set forth in the United Nations Charter.

Africa is generally friendly to the West, although independent African states have evidenced no apparent desire to formulate formal alliance. Threatening this basic attitude of friendliness, however, is the insidious international communist force, which would deny the area to the West and ensnare it into the political and socio-economic slavery of Communism. We of the West have no time to lose. We must anticipate events, sympathetically understand African aspirations, and help to meet them. To do so we must have the full understanding and support of the American people.

The opportunity to develop a sound base for enduring friendly relations and mutual cooperation with an emerging Africa is ours today. We must make the most of this opportunity without delay.

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■ University of California Conference Center, Lake Arrowhead, California**

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